

SPEECH OF DR. J. WHITE,

CINCINNATI, 1850.

From the Cincinnati Daily Times:

The late political contest in this county deserves to be remembered, if only for the rare production of Dr. J. White's speech, which it called forth. Those who will carefully peruse it cannot but regret that the author retired from the canvass, and the people were thereby deprived of the privilege of claiming the services of so honest and able a man in the halls of legislation. It is rare that a political struggle calls forth so valuable a production as this speech—a production which reflects equal credit upon the head and heart of Dr. White.

The subjects discussed, possess sufficient interest in themselves to attract public attention; but when a glance is taken at the manner in which these subjects are treated, the interest of the reader will be increased four fold. As a text book of principles, this pamphlet ought to be in the hands of every American citizen. The most gifted of our Statesmen might well be proud of its authorship. Unlike other political speeches, this will not be forgotten as soon as the occasion which produced it passes away. The sentiments are as immortal as mind itself, and will possess a deep interest to the student and philosopher in ages to come. If the same view of morality and religion ran through all the political speeches of the day, the same patriotism and truth guided all our public men, this country would soon be a paradise, indeed. Dr. White is a thorough partizan, who loves his party ardently, but he loves his country and his fellow men better, and hence he rises to higher and noble aspirations than the mere triumph of a party. As a proof of this, we refer to his notice of Hon. John McLean, which though exceedingly brief, contains a volume of thought, and shows how high he rises above party and party prejudices. We cannot, however, follow Dr. White in regular order through his eloquent and able speech. We can only notice such points as strike us as we turn over the leaves at random.

His allusion to his infancy—"born in a log-cabin, and rocked in a sap-trough"—is amusingly set off, and exhibits the humor of the Doctor in a happy manner.

A spirit of liberty pervades the whole speech. His views in regard to our citizens, both native and foreign, are generous, and worthy of the highest commendation.

Dr. White is a Democrat—a progressive Democrat. The terms and reasoning employed by him in treating of "progressive Democracy" are truly beautiful and able, and have greatly strengthened our confidence and hopes of the perpetuity of our glorious confederacy.

In his review of Democratic principles, Dr. White disposes of the protective tariff policy in a few words, and with a clearness and force never before witnessed by us, and more successfully than the best stump orator could do if he should talk for four hours. And in like manner as Shakspeare would call up Banquo's ghost, the old United States Bank is made to stand out in the mind's eye in all its hideous deformity, and the hydra-headed monster is tried, condemned, and sent to the "great byes" with a degree of dispatch and ability truly astonishing. In fact the whole platform of Democratic doctrines are discussed with an admirable tact and a consummate skill that would do credit to any statesman.

The difficult question of slavery is boldly entered upon by Dr. White, who, in the spirit of the constitution, and with an unflinching sense of justice, both to the North and the South, treats this most delicate of subjects with the skill of a profound thinker. His proposition for providing for and separating the races is worthy of the careful investigation of the philosophic and philanthropic mind every where. He exhibits a deep solicitude and sympathy for the colored race, which could proceed from none but a heart abounding in the noblest principles. In the sentiments of Dr. W.'s speech, no one should suspect him of being an abolitionist. *He is not, nor never has been;* and he urges his countrymen of the free States to "leave our slaveholding brethren unmolested, where the constitution found them, to work out their own deliverance and salvation;" that "our duties are summed up, and end with the words, MORAL SUASION."

As to the colonizing plan of Dr. White, we do not suppose that he entertains the hope that the Government or people will adopt it; but it is at least a grand scheme, and should be well considered before it is rejected.

As are all good and true men, Dr. White is a warm sympathiser with the gentler sex. "Angel woman! I love the dear creatures!" he eloquently exclaims, for which we give him our hearty thanks. The outburst, we have no doubt, proceeds from the heart, and is worthy the best man living.

The remarks on intemperance and the plan for its amelioration, are as bold as they are truthful and able. What other man, under the circumstances—a candidate for office—could be found with sufficient moral courage to grapple so boldly and fearfully with a theme like this? Honor, say we, to the man who did it.

Dr. White's narrative of the father of churches in this city, and the history of the First Presbyterian Church, is beautifully told, and is of itself enough to preserve the speech in the memory of our citizens. And his remarks on the press are truly noble—not a sickly adulation of its usefulness—but a manly eulogy upon a glorious vehicle of thought. His sentiments should make every printer proud of his profession, and cause the press to do him honor as a true champion of its rights and usefulness. Indeed to almost every topic of interest, Dr. W. has paid some attention in this speech. It is really remarkable how he has touched upon so many subjects, and handled them all so well in the brief space of twenty-two pages. Politics, morals, temperance, the laboring classes, rights of women, public improvements, education, slavery, separation of the races, colonizing the free blacks of the continent and the emancipated West Indies, the necessities for our urging our claims to the British possessions on our North and to Cuba on our South—all are successively and eloquently discussed.

In a literary point of view, this speech will rank very high. The style is smooth and graceful, and the diction rich and forcible. Many passages are fine specimens of eloquence, and the *peroration* a model of its kind. We sincerely trust that it may have a wide circulation, as it cannot fail to do much good wherever it is read.

In alluding to the purchase of the British possessions on our North, in a few exceedingly delicate words, with the meaning of a volume, he has touched truly a nice and most delicate and important matter. These provinces, by NATURE, justly belong to us; and seem to have been designed by Providence as a part of our

great Republic; and the minds of our people can no more be at ease till it is so, than we can still the waters that divide us.

As to the value of these colonies to Great Britain, their own statistics prove them to be a heavy burthen to the mother country, and they never can be profitable to her; and it can hardly be possible that she will, in view of all circumstances and contingencies, reject a good price for them. If she would, the great philanthropic measure of colonizing with her on this continent our free negroes, the negroes of the Canadas, and the emancipated negroes of their West India colonies, (all should have equal rights,) will be one of the most glorious measures that ever emanated from two nations. **HOW GRAND THE SPECTACLE TO THE WORLD!** With that *sine quæ non* on her part, England will glory in selling us her northern possessions; and her liberal and just terms, as Dr. White has well remarked, will make us the best of friends *forever*. In fact, that measure of *friendship* with us, progressing together, morally and nationally, as we will, will make the two nations live coeval with each other.

The good sense of the British nation and our own good sense should dispense with the *untold millions* that fortifications from ocean to ocean, on either side of the line, must cost us. These burthens our people could and would bear; but there are other existing considerations to arise, that will be less *endurable*.

His remarks as to the Island of Cuba are equally happy and just. This Island, too, would seem to be designed by the Creator as a part of this great American Republic. In the eyes of the world, it is to Spain, or any other nation, of no value compared to what it might be to us.—Our "Queen Sister, England," must have her Gibraltar of the Mediterranean and Atlantic—the *Eastern Continent*; and we must have our Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic of the *North American Continent*.

The greatest and grandest mission that ever devolved on men and nations since the world was, now devolves on England and these United States—**IN CONCERT TO EDUCATE, IMPROVE, CIVILIZE, AND CHRISTIANIZE THE WORLD.** This is written by the hand of Deity, with the pen of the *sunbeam*, and *she* and *we* must go forward with our moral and physical strength in the great and glorious mission.

2

SPEECH

OF

DR. JOHN WHITE,

DELIVERED AT THE FIFTH STREET MARKET
SQUARE, ON THE EVENING OF
THE 16TH INSTANT.



If the reader shall find in these pages, ONE IDEA—worthy to be engraved on AN *Immortal Mind*—whether it came originally, from the ROMAN PATRIOT, the CRITIC OR THE SAGE, or the HUMBLE INDIVIDUAL—he will be well compensated for the time spent in reading the whole.



CINCINNATI O.

September, 1850.

Our Youth must soon enter the Drama ON THE WORLD'S STAGE, and we must go hence to be no more !

THE WORLD IS A STAGE, and the Plot of the PLAY, is VIRTUE--and he who pictures it in the BRIGHTEST exaltation and LOVELIEST CHARMS, is the HERO--She who pictures Virtue in its sweetest charms and golden tresses, is THE HEROINE.

PREFACE.

In consenting to the publication of the following pages, Doct. White, with much reluctance and distrust of their merits, has yielded to the solicitations of friends. As to the sentiments, with the Democratic family, and with the whig party, in the main, he has no fears, and certainly no misgivings.

If the democratic platform, the doctrines and principles of the party, the duties due from party to party, from partizans to partizans, and the duties of us all, to ourselves and our country, are as far as he has gone, justly urged and acknowledged, he will have accomplished his cardinal and paramount objects in appearing before the public.

And if he shall have disabused the mind of the democratic party—with whom he has labored faithfully for 35 years, and relieved himself from all just censure of his former political friends, for his having assumed boldly, the measures of the free soil party, in the Presidential campaign as the seeming only alternative by which the check of the further spread of slavery could be made certain—he will have accomplished another object indeed dear to him.

He would not use the term "Hunker" but as synonymous with *conservatism* to disparage any party or *partizan*, but would urge upon all the political parties and every partizan, the propriety and necessity of guarding against false conservatism to strong fears of "progress" and on all, to keep up with the spirit of the age, to cherish and love progress.

He will not say, nor indulge the idea that his opinions, principles and conduct are of no consequence and value to his country. The opinions, principles and conduct of every citizen in our republic, for weal or woe, are and should be regarded by him and by us all, of great importance to society and our country. If he has pictured political honesty, morality and religion, "by all that is dear and valuable on earth and in Heaven—he will rejoice.

If 'tis *agitation* that purifies the dirty and rippling rill, to nature's limped beverage. If it is the winds fury that *agitates* and purifies the placid Lake, poisoned by its own stillness. If it is the fierce and maddening storm and the tornado, that agitates and piles the billowing wave and the foam, purifies the great deep poisoned by its silent stillness. If agitation shall secure to the laboring classes the rights, estimation and dignity which we hope God has designed for them. If *agitation* builds the great *national railway* to connect the two oceans, as agitation is building and has nearly completed the great *State work* the N. Y. and Erie rail road to connect the Lakes with the Hudson bay and the Atlantic.

If in the vastness of the measure, agitation shall finally purify our country and make the colored race to rank in christendom among God's noblest works by separating the races. If he contributes to agitation, and has urged in becoming and strong terms on the government and nation the propriety and necessity of appropriations and improvements in this great valley and garden of America. In the governments garden of the republic.

If he contributes to increase the agitation—in relation to an island on our borders, which as *naturally* and as *necessarily* belong to the United States, as does any State in our Union, which we must procure peaceably and honestly, which its present occupants should have the judgement to know they cannot thwart the order of providence, that we must have the island of Cuba.

If he shall have contributed to *agitate the necessity, justice and value* of the purchase of the British possessions on our north—in order to balance the political power in our States, and to make the icy north *from ocean to ocean*, one impregnable baricade, which destiny holds in her hand for us, or our destiny cannot be fulfilled; and to secure for all coming time, the love and friendship of our queenly and aristocratic sister England, our power will then be such that we will never be guilty of so much want of self respect as to go to war with any nation. If the maturer in age, *agitate* and picture virtue in its exaltation and lovely charms that *make youth love* and adore it. Should he have contributed to increase the agitation which shall result in building up a great philanthropic institution—the *Ohio Medical Institute*.—Such an institution, as in modern times, never has existed in the world, to bless its thousands, and we hope millions of our afflicted fellow creatures; he will rejoice on his death bed, should providence bless him with his reason.

If *agitation* of the vastness of the wants in present and in prospect of great and benevolent institutions, demanded by the position of Cincinnati, central to the world, *shall* make it vastly more than the Athens of the old world ; let us, my friends and fellow citizens, *agitate, agitate, agitate*, 'till all our glorious purposes are fulfilled.

But the first and paramount object of Doct. White, in going to the Legislature, were, to procure an appropriation from the State, in aid of building up the CINCINNATI MEDICAL INSTITUTE

This great measure has now assumed a more reliable and gratifying position, and relieved Doct. W. of every and *all* anxiety to be elected to the Legislature.

The Hons. John McLean, Jacob Burnet, Timothy Walker, Benjamin Storer, Joseph Lawrence Nathan Guilford, Wm. Green and others have suggested to him, their impressions that the work is too vast for individual enterprise, and that it ought to be the work of the city or the State, and where it *does justly and legitimately belong*.

He has therefore made up his mind, to yield to the suggestions and wishes of these gentlemen, that the institution, under the name and style of the OHIO MEDICAL INSTITUTE, may be built up commensurate with our position, the greatness and growing prospects of our queenly city, and to hold *his act* of incorporation for merely a private hospital, or invalid hotel, should he or others wish hereafter so to use it. When he commenced his remarks he had no idea of running into so many subjects, and he alludes to them here in apology for his motives-- regretting that he had not been more connected and methodical, and that he could not have had time and leisure to prepare himself prior to his coming before the public.

Making no pretensions but to purity of motives, he trusts that a generous public will be sparing in criticisms of his language and sentiments.

What are another's faults to me?

I've not a vulture's bill

To pick at every flaw I see,

And make it wider still.

It is enough for me to know,

I've follies of my own,

And on my heart the care bestow,

And let my friends alone.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

In the language of the Roman Patriot, "Hear me for my cause, and be silent that you may hear; believe me for mine honor, and have respect to mine honor, that you may believe."

Though your compliment, in calling me to the stand, embarrasses me much, I am happy to find myself, on this occasion, in the midst of the progressive Democracy of Hamilton county. **THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY!**

It is with deep pain that we are compelled to part with some of our old political friends—whose fate, if they will for the sake of the spoilers of office or other causes, lag behind the spirit of the age, is as certain as the fate of the emigrant who lags behind his fellows on the plains to California.

But duty to our country is paramount to all political associations; our course is onward and we must leave them to go their way.

Public speaking however, fellow citizens has not been any part of my life—except when I was quite a young man—having the honor, *when the military was popular and in its glory*, to command one of the finest regiments in the State of New York; I occasionally addressed my regiment and my officers at officer drills, in order to stimulate my men to honor and chivalrous conduct; believing as *we* did, that if all Europe combined—(and we were then threatened) should attack the United States, we could—to use a homely but common expression—*lick the whole of them*.

Since then, though faithful to Democracy and to democratic duty, I have left the task of *political speeches* to those better able to kill off, politically, that class of our enemies. Fellow Citizens—at a large and highly respectable meeting, without distinction of party—for the city of Cincinnati and Hamilton county—*held in the day time*—in the time honored and hallowed *Peoples Hall* in the *old Court House*, I had the honor of being nominated unanimously a candidate for representative in the Legislature of Ohio.

I have no convention—no clique—and I do not know that I have a soul in Hamilton county to back me up, except those who composed that meeting. It is certain, however, that unless I can get, as the southern phrase would be, a *heap* of votes, I cannot be elected, and I have therefore concluded that the *safest* course for me would be to appeal directly to the sovereigns of the country—the *people*, and if they go into the contest for me in solid phalanx I will be happy to *shake hands* with all of you in *Columbus* next winter. Fellow Citizens, as I am then, a candidate for your suffrages, it is *proper and necessary* that you should know, what my political views and faith are and have been from my youth up.

My father though a clergyman for over half a century has been much of his time a public man, and I may say a peoples man; and though over 80 years old, is as *ardent and warm hearted* democrat yet as that excellent old man and patriot the Hon. Wm. Burke of our city.

I was rocked in a democratic cradle originally made to secure the droppings of that noble forest tree, of which is made the beverage that gratifies

our palates alike at the table, where, in presence of *angel women*, all *Americans* are democrats.

Born in a log cabin and rocked in that stately cradle, I am about as much of a log cabin candidate as that excellent and lamented citizen, Patriot and statesman General Harrison.

That I may not justly bring censure upon myself and that I may be clearly understood, allow me to say:

I shall very briefly touch on some points that may be considered obsolete and on other points that may be deemed foreign to my duties. But the former sleeps to rise, when the great whig party dissolve and re-embody in more giant strength, and the latter are within the competency and influence of the Legislature over Congress and our national councils.

In fact—in the hope of impressing justly the minds of the youth of our land, especially those around me to-night, and the more mature in age; I will not promise but I may go some further than the ground here laid out. Should I be honored with a seat in the Legislature, I shall, as I have done all my life, to the best of my abilities, maintain and support all the great cardinal and leading measures of the Democratic party.

I shall vindicate with equal ardor, the rights of native born citizens, Germans, Poles, Irishmen, and Frenchmen who have equally, in all the battles of our country shed their blood, as free as water, and I shall not forget that Englishmen have sometimes been found on our side, and that such love too, their adopted country.

God forbid that Americans should be ungrateful, or should be unwilling to do full measure of justice to all who aided us in achieving our independence and in perpetuating our liberties and joined us in the unparalleled victories in Mexico, which have given us so much renown throughout the civilized world.

If elected I shall with vigilant care guard against undue party bias, in all local measures interesting alike to all my constituents, and I shall do every thing in my power to promote the onward progress of our queenly city, and Hamilton county.

If we look on the map of the world, from the eastern continent, across the Atlantic to our State, and from the Indies West, across the Pacific to California, and by the great chain of Rail Roads that must be made to Cincinnati, we find Ohio in the centre of the world and our great commercial and manufacturing emporium directly on the line of the great thoroughfares from ocean to ocean—from the Indies east and from the Indies west.

Here then should be the great centre and focus of all the great and useful institutions—Cincinnati, the Athens of America, and deserve well to rank the Queen city of the United States.

Let it be then, the pride and pleasure and duty of every citizen, to give as God has blessed him from his means from time to time—which he will never feel—to build up all the great christian, professional, literary and benevolent institutions.

Our city and Hamilton county, and the southern part of the State have contributed largely in taxes towards building the noble and splendid institutions that adorn the capital and northern part of the State, and it is just, that this great aggregate of benefits and expenses should be reciprocated, in aid of useful institutions in the emporium and southernly part of the State.

With these views, it is my purpose to ask the Legislature to aid in the great work of building up the Cincinnati Medical Institute, whether it is done by individual enterprise, or by the City and State; the importance and value of which, to the afflicted, thousands and we hope millions of our fellow beings—to come from all parts of the United States—is acknowledged by our ablest and best men, and every citizen who has been made fully acquainted with the measure and its details, which I cannot now dwell on.

We may well reflect on our glorious position, this basin—this great valley, 'tis Eden, the greatest and most lovely spot on God's footstool.

Fifty years ago, the country between the Allegheny mountains and the Pacific ocean was almost without exception a wide waste. Now almost half the population of the Union resides in the central basin. Cities have risen almost like magic, and now compare favorably with those of the east in population and business. It should be remembered that the cities of the west have had no aid from the General Government, but have risen to their present greatness through the demands and profits of legitimate business. To the west the General Government has dealt its bounty with a miserly hand, yet its natural resources, aided by inventions, have triumphed, and when the next census is taken, the central basin will contain a majority of the population of the Union. Before the application of steam power to the propelling of boats, the great valley lying between the Allegheny and Rocky mountains, was thought almost uninhabitable, on account of the length of the rivers and the difficulty of reaching a market.—Steam has removed this, and any point on a navigable river of the west is now as near to market as the points inland from the shores of the Atlantic were fifty years ago. But there are large tracts of country, both east and west of the Alleghenies, so far removed from navigation that wagoning produce to a shipping point costs almost as much as it will sell for when in market. To remove this difficulty, steam is again brought into requisition, and railroads are constructed, or are being, to almost every point remote from navigation. Indeed, in many instances the iron track supercedes the natural channel of trade. Within a few years it is fair to presume that almost every part of the central basin east of the Mississippi will be brought by artificial means near to the great outlet for western trade.

All those improvements enhance the national wealth, because, by bringing a section of territory near to a market, it enhances the value of property. While it is the duty, as well as the interest, of every State to afford all the facilities in its power to bring every section as near to market as possible, because it increases the wealth of the State. It is equally the duty of the United States to improve the great natural channels of commerce over which the General Government claims control. That improvements are needed to clear obstructions from the great rivers of the West, over which the General Government claims special jurisdiction, cannot be denied, yet the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of property annually floated on these waters have received but little attention from the General Government. Every loss occurring in our rivers is a loss to the West, and were all the losses arising from obstructions that might have been removed, restored to the West, it would be rich indeed.

That Congress has power over this subject, will scarcely be denied, and every western man should insist upon its exercise; but alas, too many of

our Representatives are ignorant of our wants, or are traitors to their constituents. Session after session has passed, and nothing has been done for the safety of our commerce—many western Senators and Representatives voting against the appropriations necessary. This should not have been, and so long as we are false to ourselves we cannot hope that others will be true to us, and advance our interest against our will. Every man elected to Congress from the central basin should be a western man at heart, and urge the just claims of this section. Although comparatively little of the revenue on imports is collected in the West, yet we pay a full share, as the duties are charged by merchants on every dutiable article we buy in the East; hence it is our right to have a reasonable proportion of the public money expended for the advancement of our trade, because it is as valuable to the Union as that of the East. No Atlantic harbor floats property equal in value to what is floated on the Ohio, yet every eastern harbor is cared for and improved, while the great highways of commerce in the West are neglected. Were our navigable rivers properly improved by the aid of steam, the West would enjoy almost every advantage of market enjoyed by the East. To steam we are indebted for much of our prosperity, and by penetrating every remote section of country with railroads, the future greatness of the West is beyond calculation. Nature has lavished bounties on us with a liberal hand, and we owe it to posterity to be true to our birthright.

Allow me to return a moment to the Cincinnati Medical Institute. As the work will cost the city and Hamilton county and the State, some money, in which you all are interested, and to make you better acquainted with the nature, value and importance of a measure, which I ask the people to send me to the Legislature, to further; allow me to read in my work on the subject a short paper, signed by some of the first men in the State:

“WE, the undersigned, having examined the Act of Incorporation of the Cincinnati Medical Institute, its Constitution and By-Laws, and being acquainted with the exceedingly liberal and benevolent views and intentions of its founders, have no hesitation in pronouncing it an enterprise of a most laudible and useful character; and one which, if carried into effect, will become a pride and an ornament, not only to the citizens of the city of Cincinnati, and the State of Ohio, but to the whole United States.

Unlike every other institution of the kind, the republicanism of this, renders it nearer a National Institution than any with which we have ever become acquainted; and it will, undoubtedly, command the respect, patronage and admiration of the whole American people. Giving unrestrained and undisturbed rights and privileges to patients, in selecting their own physicians, a feature is presented to us unknown in any similar Institution in the world, at once novel, benevolent, and decidedly American. To purchase and arrange the spacious grounds, and the buildings of this Institute, in a manner calculated to produce the greatest degree of usefulness and at the same time gratify the tastes and desires of our own citizens, and elicit the patronage of strangers, thereby bringing into our city a large amount in the aggregate to be spent annually in our State is a great and stupendous work demanding much exertion, and untiring perseverance on the part of the corporators, Doctors White and King; and if we are not mistaken in the character of our citizens we do not doubt that the measures and plans they have adopted for raising the necessary funds

will be cheerfully and promptly seconded by individuals and the public."

H. E. Spencer,	B. Storer,	Nathan Guilford,
T. B. Stevenson,	E. Goodman,	Josiah Lawrence,
Charles H. Brough,	R. Buchanan,	J. Kost,
E. D. Mansfield,	Robert Crawford,	Geo. Crawford,
Wm. Goodman,	Wm. D. Cooper,	J. H. Gerard,
E. P. Langdon,	T. V. Morrow.	

The Hon. John McLean writes as follows:

"The scheme of establishing a Medical Institute in the city of Cincinnati, as proposed by Dr. White and for which an act of Incorporation was recently obtained, I fear, is too extensive to be accomplished by private enterprise. Such an establishment would do honor to any city or State, and it is worthy of the public patronage. I trust that it may be so presented as to secure the public favor."

JOHN McLEAN.

September 28th, 1850.

For details and full particulars of this great measure, I refer you, Gentlemen, to my pamphlet devoted exclusively to the work. The measure is now the work of the city, or the city and State.

I am fellow citizens, opposed to the broad and constructive interpretation of the constitution, for which the federal party, and the great whig party have always contended.

I am in favor of a literal construction of that instrument, as the only safety of our rights and liberties, believing that all the powers yielded to the General Government, are clearly expressed, and that the States without an amendment of the Constitution, participated in by all—should not yield an iota more to the arm, already strong enough—in the general Government.

I am in favor of internal improvements, among them, the Ohio river by the General Government, as fully as public interests shall demand them, and wherever they are clearly of a national character.

I believe that to the States belong all local improvements, and that to permit the U. S. to meddle with them—however tempting pecuniarily—would be to surrender our dignity and sovereignty as an independent State.

For several years prior to General Jackson being called to the Presidency, I have been opposed to a national bank, believing it to be a giant of pecuniary and political power at variance with the genius of our institutions and subversive of liberty, and not contemplated by the framers of the constitution.

This institution by inflating the circulating medium at will, whenever avarice and cupidity dictated, made the rich man of yesterday a beggar to day; kept the country constantly in suspense and agitation, and we have more than once seen our nation, one year made mad—crazy—with such inflated currency, speculations and paper wealth, and the next year the currency withdrawn, and the whole nation beggared—and our States anathematized by all Europe as a nation of swindlers. Orphan's sighs enough to make the soul of a Biddle quake—peace be to his ashes. Widows' tears flowed like rain from the clouds, and those who produced the catastrophe were swallowed up in the great abyss!

Not a sound was heard, save the Cashier's wail He thought as he heaped the shining pile
 As the last doubloon was counted, And rolled up the greasy notes,
 Not a clerk discharged his tailor's bill He had saved enough to last awhile,
 When he from his desk dismounted: And purchase a few more votes.
 The Receiving Teller received no more, Yet little he reckoned that his rotten suit,
 And the Payer refused to pay; Would find but few espousers,
 The Attorney he turned away to the door, And less he thought that his cloven foot
 And the Runner he ran away. Stuck out beneath his trowsers.

And short were the oaths of the President, 'Tis said, at night a parting wail,
 As he fumbled amid the dross, Re-echoed from wall to wall,
 And filling his pouch as he always meant And a troubled ghost of aspect pale,
 He charged it to profit and loss. Might be seen in the banking hall.
 Not a single quail disturbed his breast, At times it will perch on the marble doom,
 On account of the slight default; Or hide in the discount closets,
 He swept the board of all that was left, And often exclaim in a solemn tone
 And locked up the empty vault. "Alas! for my deposits."

Fort here, and for other reasons to numerous to dwell on now, I am in favor of gold, Mr. Benton's mint drops.

I like to see the gold "floating up the Mississippi." I am and always have been opposed to all monopolies and exclusive privileges, and especially to all banks of issue, believing them to be sores and leeches on the body politic, unfixing the measure of value of every thing, and rendering precarious the interests of all the producing classes.

Gold and silver being the only true measure of value. Let us have the gold and silver measure, and throw away our India rubber measures.

But, fellow citizens, I never have, and never will feel it my duty to war with vested rights State or National, legitimately exercised. I would to the utmost of my abilities, protect every and all such rights.

I would no more war with the vested rights of my own State, than I would war with the peculiar institutions of some of our sister States, secured to them and rendered sacred by the compromises of the constitution.

I believe it has become the duty of Legislators, Statesmen, the people and the banks, to reflect seriously on the influences which the immense and increasing production of the precious metals are to have on all our business' and relations of life, and to prepare for the great revolution in our circulating mediums that certainly and fearfully await us.

The revolution that achieved our independence, was not more momentous; did not require more the profound contemplation of the good and and the great.

In the dreadful calamities and ruin to Spain—in her example—in the ruin to morals already forshadowed in California, that beating pulse in the whole body politic, may well make us *fear* and *tremble*. Much present mischief, pecuniarily, may be averted should our banks have the virtue and the wisdom to withdraw their paper in ratio with the increase of gold.

But Oh! fellow citizens, is gold to be our God, and are we with our broad country reaching from ocean to ocean, with all the beauties of Eden, this great and glorious nation to be swallowed up in the vortex of confusion and anarchy. What is to save us?

Go honest politicians to your houses of worship, and to the influences of your school houses for the only hopeful answer.

Accursed gold! Oh that it had been so deep in the bowels of the earth in California that the human family could never have penetrated to it!

An independent treasury has long been one of my political idols, or deemed by me of vital importance to the nation, believing that the public funds are there safe.

Human nature is human nature, and the incentives with the banks for speculations are *irresistable*, and the funds of the Government, never can be safe in their hands.

The support of our government, and equal justice to all classes, would seem to render imperious the justice and necessity for the Legislators taxing the capital stock reasonably, of all the banks.

You will understand my views of the *justice and policy* of a protective tariff, when I say I consider the innumerable and splendid palaces reared on the *barren soil* of the eastern states, *splendid monuments* of the *robbery* of the productive industry of our great Ohio and Mississippi valley.

And your Minister to the Court of St. James, Mr. LAWRENCE, of his fortune of millions, is now enjoying from this great valley, one million dollars more than justly belongs to him; and though we glory in the wealth and splendor of our sisters, the Eastern States, as we sojourn there the admiration of all Europe, the *honest pride* and admiration of a great share of our countryman; we forget that a great proportion of that overshadowing wealth, in spite of all the whig and tariff sophistry, the consumer paying duties, was drawn from the pockets of the bone and sinew of this great valley, and which, had it not been so abstracted from us under the garb of protective tariff, this *admiration* would have been largely shared in the *beauty* and *greater* improvements in the Western and Southern States.

If to protect our immense new territory from the blighting curse of slavery, means free soil, I am a free-soiler.

As to the public domain it may be said to be free soil now. No one having the ability, will object to paying the Government expenses of surveying, &c., which amount to from 62 to 75 cents per acre.

Those having the ability and would not pay from 50 to 62 cents per acre, as an equivalent towards the expenses of their government, will never go unto new lands.

They are destined to hang about our cities or spend their days in the populous parts of the country.

But a rich and philanthropic nation, with untold millions of acres of wild land, should provide for the poor families, who should prove unmistakable their inability to pay for lands, 75 or 100 acres as free as the water from the clouds to them. Fellow citizens, if these are genuine free soil doctrines, I am a free soiler.

I believe that to the people belong all appointing power. I have great confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the American people, they always on all questions and controversies, come to just conclusions—"errors by sober second thought" having sometimes to be corrected by them.

I believe the elective franchise should be at once enlarged, and that the judiciary should be elected by the people, to secure the *certainly* of *purer* and better officers, greater ability and higher attainments.

I am in favor of the security of a homestead to every family who may be so fortunate as to have one, and the right in the female to all the property justly belonging to her.

Never since the world was did benevolence and justice stare us more imperiously in the face, or the greatest good and largest success, and

greatest elevation of the masses call louder for protection and stimulus in the honor and interests of the country.

Angel woman! the soother of man's cares, and sharer in all his burthens; she should be made happy in the certainty that come misfortunes, as they may, she is safe in a home and in all the property with which God has blessed her. Left at the mercy of the crazy drunkard, the idler, and the spendthrift, such a doom is dreadful and should forthwith be remedied. When pain of mind comes, she cannot go forth into the open world for relief; her empire is in the hearts of her family, whether she lives in a cottage, or in the splendors of wealth—with the endearing husband, or the beastly drunkard. You perceive, fellow citizens, that I am in favor of the ladies.

I love them—dear creatures, and I love our 400,000 Buckeye children, and that incomparable system of education which adorns Ohio, in beauty of the buildings and in usefulness, unsurpassed by any State on earth.

Our political and educational institutions sink none, but raise to higher worth and dignity; the children of the professions and the wealthy, and also elevate the sons and daughters of all the humble and toiling thousands, to equality with the noblest in rank and dignity.

Oh! that I could have a list of the names of parents and children in this city, the laboring, industrious and honest, who now pass along the highway of life un-noticed and un-honored; and be permitted to live 25 years to see these contending as our institutions permit them in intellectual powers for the mastery, and to see who are then lords of the soil, who distinguished mechanics, who in the pulpit, who distinguished at the bar, conspicuous in high places, serving his State in Congress, in the Senate or in the Cabinet, and who of, and from what class came the President of this great Republic.

The latter spontaneous gift of a great people is a boon envied by Kings and Emperors.

Glorious country this, my fellow citizens. How much to impel us and our youth to virtue and chivalrous life.

If we would by all constitutional means co-operate with the laboring classes in ameliorating their burdens in society; there is one more expensive and oppressive burthen to them, than the ordinary idler and loafer, I allude to intemperance; enormous in loss of time, litigations and murders and orphans' sighs, wives' and widows' tears.

I am in favor of abating this evil, that the enormities shall not be sanctioned by the authorities of the State, in the *license system*, and I would sooner throw open the traffic in liquor to all, and leave to the conscience and public sentiment to regulate all the evils, till the tribunal, by statute regulations, should adjudge the tippler intemperate, when he should be sent to the house of refuge for the intemperate, and there be kept 'till nature was regulated the morbid appetite and placed reason again on her throne.

The law is well that deprives the drunkard of his property, but it does not go far enough. The philanthropy that takes care of his property, should take care of his person. We build institutions for our juveniles; and they justly demand and receive our strongest feelings and deepest sympathies; but not more than the *insane intemperate* drunkard—the tippler, intemperate, and the drunkard in degrees as truly insane and made *crazy*, from the effects of this destroyer, as the insane in your bedlam asylums from other causes—equally the philanthrope care of the good

and the State—dangerous to themselves, families, friends, and the community, as the evils, expenses and awful tragedies which every days experience prove to us, are *more* dangerous to our *institutions*, than the latter insane class.

Think not my fellow citizens that a great moral and spirited State cannot decapitate this hydra headed monster.

Build asylums for this unfortunate class of our citizens. In the name of Heaven restore them. 'Tis your duty to bring them pack to their families, to society and their country; and too, that the laboring classes may be relieved from the tremendous taxes and evils which that class forces upon them.

Exterminate this dreadful evil of our land, or as sure as that orb'd luminary that reflects light for us to-night, will appear in the Heavens tomorrow night. Will the morals and our institutions be overthrown, if *not before* as soon as our country and cities are densely populated—or let the *causes and testimony* that takes his property from his contrroll, be deemed in law sufficient to take his person to the House of Refuge—there is some disgrace in the former, but none in the latter. Let the laws and the means for labor, compell all to pay in money or in labor, their expenses to the State—or some idlers, and vagabonds will make themselves drunk for the charms, beauties, and comforts of such homes of ease.

I am opposed to the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the States.

I believe they must be held sacred for the support of the Government, or our farmers, and producing classes must and will be so taxed, by import or export duties for the support of the Government, necessarily advancing in effect, their prices at home, so much that they *cannot hope* to compete with the immense productions of the North of Europe, in the great European markets.

I believe it should be the wisdom of our legislatures and the whole nation, to guard with the profoundest care, the interests of the producing classes, to render their burthens, of every nature, as light as possible, that they may produce at low rates, at home, and send forward successfully their products to those great markets of the world.

Should industry take possession of all of us, with the aid of the mighty elements, steam and lightning, two or three hours each per day, would support all of us in luxury, and we would have the remainder of the 24 hours for the rest of the body, pleasurable exercise and adornment of the mind. This would be heaven on earth, rather than the millions toiling for a million, like leaches fastened upon them.

Fellow citizens, it is the farmers—the working classes from whom come the means that clothe and feed us all, the idlers that infest our cities and congregate on our corners and in our bar-rooms; the thousands that disgrace humanity and impede the progress and perfection of society and Government.

I can promise nothing in a work so stupendious as this. But socialy need to be remodled. The laboring classes ought to be relieved from these incubusis, and the mass of idlers and loafers, left to “earn their bread by the sweat of the brow” or starve, except God in his mercy bring upon them sickness and inability to work.

Fellow citizens, if there are on God's green earth, classes who deserve to be more eminently cherished, loved and protected, by Governments.

and society than others, they are the laboring classes; with them will be found nature's nobility, God's noblest work.

They in obedience to God's word, "man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow," furnish all the necessities and luxuries for the support of the masses, the banker and the idler, the President and the beggar. Can we but love the farmer and the laboring man, when we have the answers to the enquiries, who built the first log cabin, where your great city now stands? and cleared the immense forrests, where but about half a century ago trod only the red man and the wild beast—cleared the fields that have made wealth and the comforts of life so abundant.

Who built the school houses that in every neighborhood dot our land? Who built our academies and other splendid institutions of learning. The elegant institutions, college like in appearance in every city and village in Ohio, where are now taught daily your 400,000 children.

Who built the elegant churches that adorn the city and country, where with your sons and daughters, you rest and praise the most High.

Who furnished the materials, and in fact built this great city?

Who furnished the means that have enabled us to harness the lightning, and chain to the car and floating palace that power now doing so much for man? The farmer and other working classes. Let the Government give land to those who would but cannot buy it, and make every such family *bone and sinew of the land*.

Methinks I hear some one say this great city was built mainly by the merchants, doctors, lawyers and bankers.

As well may we say the schoolmaster boarding among his employers, instead of the doctor aided in bringing into the world the children that he teaches.

That great and respectable class, our merchants are in fact, but agents for the laboring classes gathering from all parts of the world, the goods, wares and merchandise for these classes, and those who co-operate with them in the various departments of life, and for the idlers, and all *non-producers*, or worthless members in society, leaches and incumbuses, which the past and present order of society have fastened, by direct and indirect means, upon the honest labors of the land.

No matter how many idlers, thieves, swindlers and robbers pocket the means, the money has been in—all comes from the pockets of the industrious classes. And the merchants re-charges protective tariff, charges rent, board and interest, and all his contingent expenses, with profit, with the care that leaves no error, or he and his family must surely be beggared, or he must fall back upon "*first principles*" of the idler, "get an honest living if he can, *but get a living*."

The doctor takes off the worthless limb, or perhaps restores to health the man near unto death, but his living and his wealth—if some of it has been very devious in its way, can be traced with unerring certainty from the pockets of the laboring classes. The lawyer whose business it is to get his quarrelsome neighbors out of difficulty, sometimes gets them pretty deep into the mire. But 'til there is a remodelling of the masses, of the whole round of society, he is an honor to society and his profession. But not literally earning "his bread by the sweat of his brow," *his fees and his wealth too*, are from the pockets of the laboring classes.

That great apostle of liberty, Mr. Jefferson, well said that the man who

causes two spears of grafts to grow where but one grew before, is a benefactor to his country.

If you would see virtue in all its exaltation, if you would see specimens of economy and the husbanding of time, and specimens of industry, go among our farmers and merchants, and in our workshops, or take a stroll in the northern part of our city—among that noble and honest class of our citizens—the german population—or go up the Mount Pleasant road, five miles from the city, and you will pass a blacksmith's shop, where sounds the hammer and the anvil, from the break of day to twilight, the German woman blows the bellows, and wields the sledge hammer; and the husband shoes the horses and whistles *yankee doodle*, and hail *Columbia*. Here is a specimen of the honest industry, and patriotism of one of the classes, who the native American party and aristocracy, would disfranchise and shut out from the glorious privileges of freemen and equal rights.

But for the aid of foreigners, our fathers we well know, could not have achieved for us our independence.

They were by my side, shoulder to shoulder, in our last war with Great Britain—fought nobly, shed their blood bountifully, and aided us much.

With me they fought too, glorious for Texas. Their bravery in the fierce contests of Mexico is well known to us all and *should, will* be duly appreciated by every lover of his country.

Who built our canals and railroads—on whom devolves the labor of building our thousand railroads, in embryo between the oceans; that great chain from California to Cincinnati? Our sturdy Irishmen.

Disfranchise the warm hearted Irishmen, who for industry is unsurpassed by man, who loves his adopted country so well, who in battle is always by our side?

My friends; Native Americans, you are behind the age; the time for disfranchising, so long, our foreign born citizens, has gone by. You must as sure as time is, dissolve your party, and as all in your ranks—whether nominally whigs or democrats—are really democrats; permit me to suggest to you the propriety of your merging at once, in the democratic party.

I have alluded to the institution of slavery, the curse of all curses to our land and nation.

From the day on which the people of the colonies, were engaged in choosing delegates to the convention, for framing the Constitution of the United States, this blighting curse has been agitating the whole nation, threatening the dissolution of the Union and the ruin of the high hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world.

Leave our slave holding brethren, unmolested where the constitution found them to work out their own deliverance and salvation, and their true interests, philanthropy and the respect of the opinion of the world, will we may hope soon, induce them to set about eradicating this great evil and curse to our government and land.

Our duties are summed up and end with the words, MORAL SWASION.

To extend the area of slavery, may light up a conflagration, and for aught we know, result if not in the extinction, the ruin of our slave holding brethren.

At all events the consequences of the extension of slavery, or the con

sequences of civil war, growing out of the institution, are too dreadful to contemplate or anticipate.

The errors of the free States are now being fast corrected and public sentiment is yielding to just views of that potent power the compromise, contained in the constitution.

They are fast learning, that none of the sins and evils of slavery attached, before God, and the world to us, that all the sins and evils of slavery are to be borne and endured to the heart's content, of the States where it belongs.

But, fellow citizens, that is an institution respected at this day, but by a few slave holders—is abhorrent to God, and all christianity and to the semi-barbarian.

To extend the institution, its friends proper may as well attempt to sleep over the crater of Etna. How idle that a few slave holders should think that they can bear the moral pressure upon them. Worst comes to worst—moral and physical pressure of the civilized world.

Shall our Eagle, soaring majestically from ocean to ocean, be shot down, and our flag of stars and stripes, floating gloriously in the breeze, and on every sea and ocean be trampled in the dust?

My southern brethren, tremble when you talk of your slaves being worth more than this glorious Union.

My countrymen of the East, North and West, now think that when you wish to go off, you may go in peace, but in that hour you may hear the voice of the people, who love the Union, and when you may call for the rocks and the mountains to fall on you.

The coruscations lighting up and reflecting the beauty and the grandeur of our political firmament, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, may in the hour that you raise your arm against the Union, light up a flame that will consume you.

Merciful and kind Parent of the Universe, avert all such calamities.

I am in favor of arrangements which shall induce the free colored race to separate from us, and assume a stand in the world, in mind, industry, morals, religion and colonial Government, and politics worthy the dignity of man; where color as far as possible, shall be forgotten, and where their circumstances shall all tend to aspirations for such, to them and to us, noble ends.

I am satisfied that God never intended that the white and colored races should live together, that social life and equality are as incompatible, and unjust to both, as inter-marriage is abhorrent to our natures, impossible as it is for us to change the color of our own skin or for them to change theirs.

The peace and safety of our southern States will not permit their location contiguous to slavery on our newly acquired territory, and I am in favor of setting off an abundance of land in the northerly part of Oregon or somewhere along the northerly line of that territory.

Or in case of any difficulty in this, I would have the Government purchase there of England, a tract sufficient for all that are and may be set free. Should I be elected, I intend if my constituents will permit me, to introduce in the Legislature resolutions to instruct our representatives and so request our senators in Congress.

I shall provide in my resolutions, or request that such tract of country shall be set off and organized as a colony, and give them a Legislature of

their own, and all the offices of the colony, 'except the Governor and Lieut. Governor, who should be white men, one of whom, perhaps alternately, to represent the colony in Congress.

Why not as freely provide for the colored man, as the red man?

In the separation, we will remove the thousand evils and vices, to so-icety and the Government; that flow from contact with them; elevate them, purify and dignify more eminently our people by making in their absence the labor of our native born and our adopted countrymen more honorable; and in the elevation of morals we will drive another bolt in the perpetuity and security of our political fabric.

That section of the country is so far separated from the slave States, that interfrance from, and escape to, the colony will be impossible.

Feed for stock on the way, is so abundant that beef can be driven for use on the journey, and the same stock made to haul other indispensable necessities, and the expenses brought within the means of a considerable share of such emigrants.

The soil is remarkable for all the great staples for which with their home market, water power, timber and, salmon fisheries, &c., with their home market superaded unlimited demand for the whale fisheries, the islands of the ocean, and on either side of the Pacific, will enable them to become a renowned State, if they would; but in industry, agriculture and the arts, be just to themselves, if they *dare* and *will* enter the race with the whites, to prove to the world whether God has given them the abilities equal to, or superior to the whites.

With these great advantages, should the will of a large majority of the people of Ohio, be enforced by the State; this race will have a safe home to go to where that great moral and physical trial can be fairly made.

That all the free States are ripening for enforcing this separation there can be but little doubt.

Fellow citizens, *our great cities* the star of empire westward is.

The man now lives near here who shot a wild deer in the forrest, where now is the centre of this great city, and on the very spot where the Waverly house now stands.

A gentleman in attendance at our State Fair pointed out to day to us the spot where he and his neighbors erected a log cabin for their house of worship, and who said they were compelled to go to meeting and sit with their Rifles in their hands; one of them standing at each window to watch and guard against the approach of the indians, and that one of the few was shot and murdered by the indians on his way to church.

That cabin was the father of churches in this great and splended city, the first Presbyterian church on the corner of of Main and Fourth streets, where stood the two towered and hallowed old church, the wonder of the western world for many years, now given place to the erection of one of the most splended churches and highest steeples in the Union.

Since my time the Ohio and Mississppi rivers were navigated only by the bark canoes of the red men.

This immense country from central N. Y., when I moved with my Father to Jefferson county, N. Y., was a howlin wilderness, has now inhabitants and wealth sufficient for Empires on empires. These are the fruits of our institutions, the stimulous to our youth and nation

We do not go back so far as his parentage; the enquiries are, is he industrious, has he moral worth and abilities.

'Tis moral worth and the jewelled mind here—whether the son of the President, the mechanic or the beggar, in our country makes the man.

In evidence of which I need but speak the name of the father of his country, WASHINGTON. I need but speak the name of the great Apostle of liberty, THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FRANKLIN, a youth, emigrated from Boston to Philadelphia with a loaf of bread under his arm, a printers "devil". In a few years he laid his hand on the life and soul of the world, and sported with the lightning.

He was among the foremost in building up a great Republic. He commanded the respect and admiration of kings and emperors. He lives in the hearts of his countrymen..

His fame is immortal. A printer without primogeneal advantages except his connection with one of the noblest classes that tread God's earth.

They, lash the sinner speak to and influence the world. Let them feel the responsibility of their high mission on earth, and that with them, with the press devolve the destinies of our institutions and the world.

A poor and friendless boy, Andrew Jackson, the man never lived who enjoyed more fully and eminently the admiration and affections of the people.

His abilities and the grandeur of his character, gave him undisputed sway of his countrymen. That power was exercised by him in the true spirit of democracy.

Martin Van Buren of warm hearted German parents, as humble as the humblest of us, both Father and Mother democrats at that. By the midnight pineknot torch, fitted himself for the highest place and honors in the world.

When I was a clerk in a store in Auburn, N. Y., there was a plain unassuming young man, five miles from me, boring pump logs and dressing cloth. Fifteen years ago without family, wealth or fame—Parents and other relatives as plain and democratic as he is now. He now enjoys the highest position that man can attain on *earth*.

As an illustration of the workings and the excellencies of our institutions let one instance at home suffice.

Hon. John McLean in the woods, with his own hands cutting logs to build him a log cabin to shelter his little family; since filled high places in his State and nation; now fills one of the highest places in the world.

Glorious country this my fellow citizens, how much to impell us to virtue chivellous conduct in every thing pertaining to morals, and our institutions and government.

Allow me fellow citizens, to digress. We ought to own the British Possessions on our north. If our queenly and aristocratic sister, England, will give us or sell us cheap, her northern possessions—of no real value to her—and use her influence to aid us to purchase Cuba, we will run no risk of forfeiting our agreement in promising her that we will live on terms, with her of the most loved neighbor, for at least a thousand years.

Our country then bounded by the icy shores of the north—where we are south, or we hope never beyond the isthmus of Panama, East and West by the Atlantic and Pacific. One great city, such as no man ever saw, on either side of that great chain of rail roads, and its branches, with our villages and cities, out farms, and innumerable palaces—with our hundred million of inhabitants—and the race of this Union will have but just begun.

Oh! that I could live 25 years, to see the beauties and the grandeur of my country then.

Paralyzed be the arm that shall be raised against such a Union. Paralyzed be the heart that can feel it. Paralyzed be the tongue and the head, that can utter or think of such a calamity as the dissolution of our glorious Union.

A few words as to parties—a few moments and I have done. Fellow citizens shall I close here or go on?

Since 1812, I have seen rise up like the Phoenix from his ashes—from the ashes of federalism—parties white, ring, speckled, black and grey, of all shades and colors—names and professions; like the nightly mushroom, and who have almost as soon gone to the capulets—except I can say, in all sincerity, for their great and splendid talents and noble bearing—the great and giant whig party have struggled nobly, are dying long, as the strong man dieth; BUT who are now treading “in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessors?”

It will then become us, as good christians, to say amen to the THINGS THAT WERE—soon to be known only as matters of history—whilst democracy beating in the bosom of every American—the life and soul of our nation—MUST, WILL live forever, glorying in constant progression.

Fellow citizens, we live in an age of higher civilization and intelligence, than before our day and nation, ever blessed mankind. What is it, sir, from semi-barbarity to the glories, that now charm and adorn our nation, but progressive democracy that has produced changes so valuable and glorious to us.

Do not start my friends and fellow citizens, at the word democracy.—The PEOPLE—all the political Parties in this country are equally honest and we are all democrats.

In the wonderful improvements in machinery, in the last 60 years, we supposed we had capped the climax of improvements in civil life, but we have since chained to the car and floating palace, that tremendous power and element that overturns mountains, swallows up cities—raises valleys—and makes lakes.

We have harnessed the lightning, and made it subservient to man—and if it has not yet brought the whole world into the compass of one great city, or one body and soul—it will soon enable us to converse under the same roof with all christendom.

As well may we say there can be no more improvements and discoveries in all the moral and physical sciences, as to say Democracy is not safely progressive.

What is progress?—This word, progress, has become a very common word with politicians, and many old fashioned people are slow to believe that it represents an idea, a fact, rather supposing that like many others once in fashion, now never used, that it is only a tacking phrase used for political effect. No doubt it is, and has been, but we need not take other people's word for it. Let us examine the word and see if it contains a fact.

Progress means going forward either to a better, or to a worse condition than the present. We all believe, when we voluntarily change our condition, that it will be for the better; otherwise we would be content to remain as we are. Progress then means, going forward in an improving course.—Half a century ago progress was very slow, the spirit of enterprise, of in-

vention, of innovations on old customs, was very weak, and a life-time scarcely afforded evidence of change in any thing. By reading books, however, and bringing together the manners and customs, thoughts and mechanical instruments, of people who lived a hundred years ago, and comparing them with our own it could be plainly seen, that there was progress or change in most important matters. We thus prove, that there is such a thing, and are prepared to understand a declaration that progress is a fact, and we must fully comprehend it or we will not seek to improve as we grow older with the world. To the present generation, we appeal to their own experience. For hundreds of years there has never been so many revolutions in the condition of mankind, in every department of life as within the past fifty years. Stocks of cattle, horses and sheep, are finer than they were, decidedly they have progressed. Farming implements have been improved, here is progress too. Better modes of tillage have been discovered—this is progress. Steam navigation and steam travel belong to this period—this is progress. In mechanical branches of industry, machinery has been perfected, and new combinations of mechanical powers brought into use—this is progress; the power-loom and the spinning jenny have pushed the old fashions aside—this is progress. In the world of thought, this progress first took its steps, and it is the results only mentioned in part. There are other kinds of progress, which are not seen but felt just as real. A great many errors of opinion have been discovered and abandoned. A great many superstitions have faded away and new views taken from new points of observation—this is progress.

We could go on in this way for a long time, and all would easily remember these changes. All these little changes combined, effect great changes, and these changes make what is called progress. If in the relations of society, they are political progress; if in religious opinions, as the reformation by Luther, this is religious progress; and so on to the end.—There is an impulse in man, which impels him to make this progress; but there is also a balance power in the human mind, in society which is cautious of change—suspicious of progress—this is called conservatism.—Those are the terms progress and conservatism. One is the “go ahead” principle, the other is the “be sure you’re right.” The young are generally the progressives—the old the cautious conservatives; the farmer has just as much concern in this matter, as the politician, and in the circle of his labors, a just understanding of the matter is essential to improvement.

Progressive is eminently democracy, and it can no more be confined within the bounds of Hunker Democracy, or conservative whiggery, than you can stay with your hand, the billowing waves of the great deep.

Democracy, is *onward and onward* till it shall merge in greater perfection, and happiness in every thing good on earth.

Compare with what the world was a few centuries ago—and democracy and religion have made the earth a paradise.

By all then that is pure and lovely in duty—by all that is valuable on earth and in heaven—“act well your part where all the honor lies,” in all the relations of life, and in your duties to your country as the certain means of perpetuating our institutions and glorious Union.

One word as to our Convention system.

I lived near Mr. Van Buren when he matured and perfected this system of conventions for nominating our candidates for offices, and which made him President of the United States.

It seemed to be representative, and I went with the mass, but I am free

to say that I never thought seriously of the system without apprehensions and misgivings. Time has proved that these apprehensions were too well founded. For proof of which we need only to recur honestly to the past. Depend on it Fellow Citizens, our farmers and working men—the laborers of the land, the bone and sinew of the country, in whose keeping are the safety and perpetuity of our institutions—will go no further with a system so full of, and so fraught with corruption. We believe that the measures are now, honestly, in progress that will remedy all these evils—and restore peace and harmony to the great democratic family.

Fellow citizens, if my election must depend on vituperation, and abuse of parties, or political opponents I cannot be elected at so much expense of my own self respect, and the full measure of justice due to all parties.

The democratic party sincerely believe that the federal party were, and that the whig party are in favor of *too strong* governments and too broad construction of the constitution.

If the whigs disclaim these, they must retract some of their former errors and prove their principles in the future. But fellow citizens, the man that will stand up and proclaim that his party is honest, has more virtues and more patriotism than the other party, is either a demagogue, a fool or a knave.

The political parties in our country are both equally honest, except the demagogue—the man of the almighty dollar—or those whose God is office.

Fellow citizens; our nation and people have duties and a mission to perform, such as never before devolved on any people or nation on earth—to test democracy and to solve the great and grand problem, whether man in defiance of the charms and glittering of aristocracy and royalty, in defiance of all contingencies, is really capable of self government.

If we would render undying, progressive democracy, and continue to improve our institutions—as examples to the world—every citizen should feel the great responsibility that justly belongs to him, and every one—democrat or whig—should have the motto of the officers of the last war with Great Britain—“*aim high*”—in politics, morals and religion, indelibly inscribed on every heart

And now I commit myself to the hands of the people. I am willing and ready to offer up “myself for my country, my time, my energies, and whatever talents I possess, shall be devoted to the great cause, at your bidding. And whether I am successful or not—whether I shall be chosen to represent my fellow citizens or not—I am determined to do my duty—determined to keep ever before my mind, and strictly adhere to, the advice of Woolsey to Cromwell:

“Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thou aimest at, be thy country’s, thy God’s and thy truth’s, and then if thou fallest, Oh! Cromwell, thou fallest a blessed martyr.”

ALL SHOULD WORK AND ALL SHOULD THINK.†

This is one of the fundamental principles avowed by the Industrial Congress, and one in which we fully concur. It says, "Work is written by nature in the bones and muscles of all mankind, and that amount of toil which health demands will be ample to supply every one with all the comforts of life." What a beautiful vindication is this of the beneficence and wisdom of God who designed that the fulfilment of His laws, physical and moral, should contribute to the pleasure of man! What a commentary upon these institutions of society, by which those laws have been so violated, that the great mass are doomed to a toil which destroys their constitutions, and deadens their mental energies, depriving them of the privilege of pursuing that happiness which is to be found in mental pursuits. Admitting that the Declaration of Independence is correct, when it says that the pursuit of happiness is a natural and inalienable right, how can those institutions be justified, under whatever forms they may be sheltered, which deprive the great mass of men of this privilege? It is plain that there can be no justification of them.

In the present condition of society, when the laborers are compelled to toil from 10 to 14 hours per day, having no time for studying the laws of their physical or moral natures, most are compelled to be dependent on those who have time, and who in consequence, get rich by doing the thing for their fellows. They cannot, however, justify themselves in receiving an undue share of the products of labor for this service, unless they at the same time seek the highest good of all, by aiding them in every possible way to emancipate the toilers from ignorance and dependence.

The laborers, throughout the country, have high duties to perform. They cannot look with confidence to the efforts of those interested in keeping them, in their present condition, for help. They may look, in many instances, for their opposition in any effort to elevate themselves.

"What will make the Toiler honorable?

What will give him self respect?

What will make him still a Toiler,

Be esteemed and stand--erect?

Tell us, chainer of the lightning—

Plowman of the Roman state—

Tell us, by your bright example,

What will make the Toiler great?

Tell us, Day from night outbursting—

Stars that shine amid the night;

Shout they all in mighty chorus—

Give him KNOWLEDGE—Give him LIGHT!"

This it is that will elevate and disenchant him; but for his knowledge he must depend mainly on his own exertion. Let the laborers every where feel their responsibilities, and go to work in an earnest, hopeful spirit, in the full faith that, by proper efforts, they may sustain their natural rights.

†This was omitted in page 13, between the 14th and 15th lines, after the words "markets of the world."